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ceived from the Ming emperor the invitation to surrender. In 1373 he had not yet answered the summons, and the prominent T'u-ssu T'o-erh chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce him to submit. In 1374 his delegates arrived at court with the submission. The following year the emperor created the two commanderies of Anting and A-tuan, and to Pu-yen-pu-hua was granted the title of Prince of An-ting (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 23*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*).

In 1374 the T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce the barbarians dispersed all over the country of Huangchung to submit to the Ming emperor (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*).

In 1375 T'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of General Pu Yin against the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa in Liangchow, to whose army a severe blow was administered. The rebel managed to escape. The emperor invited T'u-ssu Lu to call at Nanking to receive the imperial congratulations. On account of illness he was prevented from moving to the capital.

In 1376 Hsining T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to participate in another expedition of General Feng Sheng in Liangchow region against the Mongols, plundering the country. Shih-chi-ku, Nan-t'ai and others surrendered with 1,000 men, and also the Mongol T'o-lin, with his 2,200 subjects (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*).

In 1377 T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to join the expedition of General Pu Yin against the Tartar chief Yeh-su-t'o-huo and others who again plundered the Liangchow country. They suffered a severe blow and 1,000 of their brigands were killed. Then T'u-ssu Wang followed the expedition of General Feng Sheng in Kanchow and Suchow where 1,890 families surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*).

In 1378 T'u-ssu Lu Ah-shih-t'u, oldest son of T'o Huan, fought and took prisoner Ta-kuan-tieh-chih, a chief of plundering Tibetans, living in the mountains between Ku Lang and Liangchow.

General Teng Yu in 1370 had pacified the country of Kui Te situated 220 li south of Hsining, on the southern borders of the Yellow River. In 1376 he had founded the So of Kui Te, leaving a garrison of 500 horse troops and 500 colonists, ordering them to till the soil and provide the subsistence of the garrison (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 15*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 57: 2*a*). In 1378 Kui Te was attacked and plundered by the Tibetan Ha la kui (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 25*b*), who also devastated the Koko-nor region. T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to fight the brigands (Monguors I: 34).

BUREAU FOR EXCHANGE OF TEA AGAINST HORSES

The year 1378 was very important on account of the establishment of the bureau for the exchange of tea against horses. Each year 3,500 horses would be exchanged in the city: first-class horses exchanged for

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120 pounds of tea, second-class horses for 70 pounds of tea, and third-class horses for 50 pounds of tea. Every tribe under submission was taxed a definite number of horses to be exchanged at the bureau.[71]

The very first bureau had been established in 1376 in Ch'in Chou in East Kansu, but on account of the distance between Ch'in Chou and An-ting and A-tuan, and the inconvenience of travel through the provinces, a bureau had later been established in Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 17 : 3*b*).

The importance of the trading of tea for horses cannot be overrated. On the one hand, it was a means for the nomads to get rid of their horses and secure tea. Tibetans as well as Mongols cannot do without tea, and the stronger the concoction the more delightful it is to them. Even when traveling or indulging in hunting parties where tea could not be prepared, they chewed the tea leaves. The craving for tea among the nomads may be compared with the craving for opium among addicts. On the other hand, the trade was very beneficial to the Chinese. First of all, the cavalry got its badly needed horses in an easy way, and the officials of the bureau also benefitted. They evaluated the quality of the horses according to the gratuity offered by the nomad, cheating in the quality of the tea, and putting the transaction off indefinitely, making the customers wait for weeks on end, or helping them immediately, according to the gratuity presented. Squeeze was the rule in the bureau.

The first benefitters were the traders. The exchange of horses was a boon for the city. Traders from all over Szechwan and Shensi provinces moved into the city with the wares the nomads needed, in addition to the tea they brought with them. The nomads were allowed to bring more horses than the number taxed, and they carried wool, skins, musk, etc., to be exchanged for wares. The exchange of horses for tea was the yearly opportunity for the nomads to make a trip to the city and to provide for the needs of the family.

This institution was also an effective means of attracting the nomads to surrender, for only surrendered tribes were allowed to enter the city and transact business. After two years the institution reached fruition. It was an attraction, especially during the troubled times which were ahead, when the tribes, indulging in plundering each other, had to get rid of the stolen horses. It was an attraction also because the surrendered tribes enjoyed the protection of the empire.

In 1379 both Hsining Wang and Chao t'u-ssu were ordered to participate in the expedition of General Mu Yin, sent to quell the revolt of the turbulent eighteen tribes in T'ao Chou (Tibetans? Uighurs? Shat'o?) where the chief San Fu Shih was taken prisoner. Then T'u-ssu Chao was enjoined to follow the expedition of General Fu Yu-te against rebel Mongols in Yunnan

[71] Huang Ming su-i k'ao, Wen tien ko shu-chuang, Peiping, Chiang-fu-ssu chieh, 1937.

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of them remained united and strong because of the benefits derived from brigandage and loot.

Altan, who controlled all the Mongols, was in 1559 making forays and harrassing China. For a long time he had been conversant with the fertile Kokonor country, the El Dorado of peoples engaged in cattle breeding, and also with the weakness of the Chinese forces which defended the country, and the helplessness of the disunited Tibetan tribes. Being eager to occupy Kokonor he sent to the country his two sons Pin-tu and Ping-tu with several thousands of Mongols. In 1561 Pin-tu occupied and looted the country of Sung-shan-i, situated between Chuang Lang and Ordos. Ping-tu went to Kokonor, plundering and looting East Kansu (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 12). He defeated the Chinese army sent against him. The Li T'u-ssu died in the battle (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 35*a*). In 1568, however, he was severely beaten around Kuei Te and lost many of his people (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 35*a*). In the meantime the Tibetan Tsan-tsa and Ko-tsa tribes had invaded the Ma-ha-la valley in Hsining but were chased away. Mongol groups of Pin-tu made raids from Sung Shan, in the Pa-yen-jung region (Hsining) and were beaten (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17). Again the military authority ordered walls and small fortresses built on the mountain passes and on the routes used by the brigands to invade the country (*Annals* of Hsining 13: 9, 10).

In Hsining the bureau for the administration of the military colonies was erected in 1567 (*Annals* of Hsining 23: 5).

In 1568 the emperor ordered the officials of Hsining to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining for the meritorious T'u-ssu Li Kung, grandson of Li Yin, who in 1481 had passed the literary examination of *chin shih* and fulfilled the office of minister in the Chang-pao-sse. The arch was built on the great street of the eastern gate of the city, and still exists. The emperor granted the honorific inscription chiseled in the arch: Ch'ing Yun (clearing clouds)—meaning bright sky, and thus bright intelligence.

In 1569 the Tibetan Ssu-erh-ko and Hung-mao tribes raided Hsining and were administered a blow. Two chiefs of Ssu-erh-ko were taken prisoner, but a Chinese commander was killed by the Hung-mao tribe (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17). The commander succeeded in inducing the Ssu-erh-ko tribes to surrender and titles were bestowed upon the chieftains of their twelve tribes. They aided in inducing the Hung-mao tribes to surrender and both groups agreed to combat the Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in combination with the Chinese armies (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 19*b*). The Mongol brigand Ping-tu raided the Ta-erh-wan valley in Huangchung from Kokonor and was repelled by the army which lost its commander (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 35*b*).

Altan surrendered in 1570 and concluded peace with

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Peking, and the emperor agreed. Ping-tu forced the tribes to build a road to Wu-ssu-tsang in order to meet the lama. The entire Szechwan province was upset for fear of invasion by the savage Kokonor brigands. The governor wrote Altan to order his sons to desist from plundering the country. Altan answered that the only reason for the behavior of his sons was the lack of any markets where they could fill their needs. In 1574 markets were opened for Pin-tu and Ping-tu and the emperor granted to the temple of Kokonor the name Yin-hua-sse and the title of vice-commander to Ping-tu. However, the sons and cousins and nephews of Altan plundered as before. Again the officials asked Altan to reprimand them. Altan arrived with his army feigning to meet the lama; however he had an axe to grind with Oirats, his old foes. Coming back, he asked the governor to allow all the Mongol chieftains to attend a meeting with the lama in Kokonor. The Tibetans, taken with panic at the sight of the demonstration of power and magnificence, fled in all directions. Altan returned to the north (1577) but Ho-lo-ch'ih and Yung-chao-pu, his nephew and cousin, and others refused to leave Kokonor, and Ping-tu started plundering the Tibetans again. The officials immediately asked the emperor to close the markets. Altan reprimanded his son and urged him to return the stolen people and cattle. However, Ho-lo-ch'ih continued looting (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 13, 14).[84]

In 1579 the governor of Hsining was engaged in developing agriculture in Huangchung. He gathered the destitute people who had fled with fear of the Mongol brigands, located them in villages, provided them with grain and oxen, dug irrigation canals, etc. In each village he opened a school. He gathered more than 100,000 families, and more uncultivated land was tilled. When Altan left the country in 1577 he had asked him to leave peacefully and to protect the country against more raids by his people (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20).

Ha-tsa, a Tibetan tribe of Kokonor, raided the western valley of Hsining in 1580, but was repelled. Two

[84] René Grousset, *Empire des Steppes*, 592, Paris, Payot: The Ordos Mongols started professing the lamaism of the Yellow Church from 1566 on. The *jinong* Khutukh Setsen Hung-t'ai-chi of the Uchin banner, coming back from an expedition in Tibet in 1566, had invited lamas to accompany him to Ordos and convert the Mongols to lamaism. The fervent *jinong* succeeded in converting his grand-uncle Altan who at that time was in the heyday of his power (1576). Altan and his grand-nephew invited the chief of the Yellow Church, the great lama bSod-nams rgya-mtso to come to Kokonor. The Mongols met him magnificently and opened with him an official convention at which was laid the foundation of the Yellow Church among the Mongols (1577), and Altan honored the great lama with the title of Dalai Lama, which title is still borne at present by his successors. The Dalai Lama, returning to Lhasa, appointed the Living Buddha Dongkur Manjucri in Kukuhoto the residence of Altan. The Dalai Lama left Lhasa again to travel to Ordos in 1586 for the performance of the cremation ceremonies of Altan who had died in 1583.

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gols in Kokonor and burn the temple built by Altan. They returned in a flush of triumph with 1,200 captured families. The number of brigands they killed is not known. The Brigadier General Chiao Chi defeated tribes of Ho-lo-ch'ih with the help of Tibetans and beheaded 120 of his men (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 36*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*b*).

The energic Cheng Lo must have commanded at the time of his arrival in Huangchung a fair number of fresh troops. Otherwise the shaken confidence in the empire among the Tibetan tribes would not have been restored so quickly. In two years time the outlook had changed and become bright and full of hope for the people, beset for ten years with starvation, squalor and misery, and anxious uncertainty.

The same year the markets, opened for the Mongols in Kansu, were closed on account of their incessant raids and brigandage. The Obedient and Righteous Prince Ch'ih-li-k'o who had assisted at the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou, sent back the abducted people and stolen cattle and presented excuses to the emperor (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20*a–b*).

In 1594 orders were given to repair and improve again the fortifications of the city of Hsining. More villages and military colonies were built. Maybe the officials had seen some new straws in the wind (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*a*). A strong group of Kokonor brigands arrived to plunder the valleys south of Hsining. The Chinese generals Liu Mei-Kuan, Ta Yun, T'ien Yueh had called all the t'u-ssu of Huangchung and captured groups of Tibetans to defend the country. They used flanking movements, skillfully settled ambuscades, and administered a crushing defeat to the raiders, 680 of whom were beheaded. A few months later the brigands came back with all the brigands of Nalu, to loot the valleys west of Hsining. The same generals, t'u-ssu, and Tibetans obtained a resounding victory and killed 700 and more brigands, among them some chieftains (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 37*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*a*).

These two victories were the most important ever won in Huangchung. In the report relating the military presentation are encountered the names of the most meritorious military and civil officials who had contributed to the success. We encounter among them the names of T'u-ssu Lu Kuang-tsu, Li Yu-mao, Li Hsien-hua, Ch'eng San-chi, Ch'i Ping-chung and Ch'i Te (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 23*a–b*). A delegate of the ministry of war was sent with titles and gifts to reward the meritorious officials.

Immediately after the victories, in 1596, orders were sent to the military officials to build more walls especially along the roads used by the invaders of Kokonor and Sung Shan, to build fortresses at strategic points and more villages in the valleys for the farmers. The officials expected that the brigands would not take these blows lying down but would avenge themselves by means of new raids. In Cheng-hai-pu in the western

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While the t'u-ssu and their subjects were fighting and suffering and dying in Hsining, the despairing Ming emperor, on April 25, 1644, had hanged himself in the Wan Sui Shan in Peking. On June 6, 1644, the troops of the new Ch'ing dynasty entered Peking and started at full speed with destruction of the troops of Li Tze-ch'eng who had already proclaimed himself emperor. On October 7, 1644, he ended his life by hanging himself.[87]

The t'u-ssu and their subjects served the Ch'ing dynasty with the same faithfulness they had served the Ming dynasty.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started with the occupation of Huangchung, this was an insecure colony of China, which during the previous dynasties had been lost several times and recovered. The Ming organized the country, providing a civil and military administration on the Chinese pattern. In Huangchung they started with the founding of military colonies, induced the Tibetan tribes to submit to them, established the exchange bureau of tea for horses, favored and protected the arrival of traders from inside China, and promoted agriculture and commerce. They attracted Chinese to settle in the country, built schools, promoted education, and repelled forays of Tibetans and Mongols from outside the Huangchung borders. Huangchung was at peace.

However, in the fateful year 1509 the first group of Mongols arrived and settled in Kokonor, followed by one after another, which ruined and cowed into submission the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor. At the same time the population of Huangchung and East Kansu, from 1509 to 1597, succumbed to the recurrent onslaught of avid, restless and predatory Mongols. The Tibetan tribes, robbed of their cattle, having seen their women and young folk abducted, beset with starvation and abject poverty, started raiding, devastating, and laying waste Huangchung and East Kansu. The army could not deter the forces of destruction. Raids prevailed over the entire northwestern borders of the empire, and the emperor gave the Huangchung officers insufficient reinforcements. It was only in 1590 that the energetic Minister of War, Cheng Lo, commanding new forces, succeeded in defeating the brigands. In the meantime the administration had incessantly built cities, villages, schools, walls, and fortresses all over the country. The aspect of the country had changed completely, despite the desperate times. The country had been organized and the administration established.

During these times, when raids and destruction raged unchecked, Chinese and Shat'o and Uighurs, Tibetans and Monguors had suffered together, helped and sheltered each other, and blended and fused in the compound called the Huangchung population.

In 1644 when the Ch'ing dynasty occupied Huangchung it was no longer the depopulated unorganized

[87] Erich Hauer, *op. cit.*, 488, 494, 497.

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should have been cognizant of the fact and have considered the boy as the legitimate successor of Nag Dzang. However, the shrewd *desi*, offended by the growing interference of the emperor and of the Khoshot prince in Tibetan affairs, kept secret from the outer world both the death of the Dalai Nag dzang and the appointment of the reincarnation. He himself planned to rule the kingdom politically. Galdan who had been lama in Lhasa had been the friend of the Dalai and the *desi*, who at the time of his struggle with the Khalkhas had imprudently spoken in his favor near the emperor. In 1689 the distrusting emperor started inquiring into the matter and knew that the old Dalai had died in 1680–1681. He suspected connivance between the *desi* and the Jungars. After the crushing defeat administered to Galdan in 1696, the emperor learned that Galdan would fly to Tibet to build a new army. The emperor back in Peking immediately sent to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor the order to apprehend Galdan, his family and followers in order to check their faithfulness to the empire. However, Galdan had fled to the west and died in 1697. The princes of Kokonor, in order to dispel the suspicion of the emperor concerning their faithfulness, gathered in a group of thirty-one presided over by an eminent lama and swore allegiance to the empire. It seems that on account of the unanimous testimony of faithfulness sent to the emperor, the princes, being all descendants of Ku Shih Khan, were awarded titles.[91]

However, the *Annals* of Hsining present another version: the emperor, preoccupied with the troubled situation in Tibet and Kokonor, ordered the lama Chang Nan to *erh chih* (induce to submission) the princes of Kokonor. Having obeyed, the emperor granted titles to the descendants of Ku Shih Khan: to Blo bzang tan chin, the title of prince, to the others the titles of *Pei-le, Pei-tse, Kung, T'aichi*. A yearly allowance in silver was also granted. They were requested to bring tribute to the capital. As long as the lama was in Hsining the princes were loyal and dependable. Later Chinese officials were appointed to care for them (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 16*b*).

In the *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52, is recorded in 1708 a serious revolt of Hsi Ku Tibetans, in the region of Wen Hsien in the farthest southern corner of East Kansu. The Hsi Ku tribes are the Hsi La Ku tribes, the Shera Uighurs, the Yellow Tibetans, already noted (pp. 17, 18). They were still autonomous in 1708 and had their own chiefs, and joined in the revolt. They depended upon the Yang t'u-ssu, and their chiefs were granted titles after the revolt by the emperor, thanks to the intercession of the Yang t'u-ssu.

In 1718 the Board of Agriculture of Hsining announced that 14,678 acres of uncultivated land were still available par culture.

[91] Maurice Courant, *L'Asie centrale au XVII et XVIII siècles. Empire Kalmouk ou Empire Mantchou*, 62, 72, 73, Paris, Picard, 1912.